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The Trend in American Family Life A Survey of the Past Decade

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The family still abides in these United States of America. This is a reassuring fact. The past decade has proved revolutionary for several institutions that seemed as firmly rooted in the instincts and customs of men as the family. Many and confident have been the prophecies concerning the passing of our family type. Some of them, to be sure, were the uncritical pronouncements of partisans. But others have been sober calculations based upon a careful survey of present trends. As a people we have undergone profound transitions. We have passed from the simplicity of rural life to the complexity of city life. There has been a consequent substitution of secondary group contacts and controls for the accustomed primary group contacts and controls. We have witnessed the rapid rise of machine industry; modern life has become increasingly mobile; and within a generation we have become members of "the great society." Compassed about by such changes the radical modification, if not the dissolution, of family life did not seem at all improbable. When one considers the encroachment of industry upon every domain of life, the extension of the democratic ideal to other fields than the political, the various woman's movements for political, economic and social equality, and especially the impetus given woman's cause by the late war, one expects far greater alterations in family organization and status than are apparent at present. To be sure there have been significant transformations. But our family life is still monogamic, increasingly democratic in its adjustments and working ideals, giving ever higher evaluation to childhood and motherhood, being modified for the most part in wholesome and ethically progressive directions. In an age when the tempo of change has been sharply heightened this primary group abides, modified to be sure, but still essentially the first home of human nature and nurture.

Even so great an upheaval as the war did not disturb this ancient institution so profoundly as it did others. Professor James H. Tufts has pointed out that the family as an institution has received notable tribute recently from radical sources. When Russia overthrew her government, western Europe and America applauded. When private property was abolished and lands redistributed, the Radicals, at least, rejoiced in the coming of the proletariat millennium. But when the report spread that the Bolsheviki proposed to replace the private family by the nationalization of women, unqualified denunciation arose on all sides, from Conservative and Radical alike. Both Anarchist and Bolsheviki disclaimed responsibility for any such program, and even the ultra reds in our own country did not hail the proposed revolution as a sign of progress. "It may well seem," writes Professor Tufts, "that the family has emerged from this war safe from violent overthrow or from organized attack."

*A paper read before the Family Section at the Cleveland Convention by the Professor of Sociology and Religious Education of the McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. It supplements the Survey of Progress of Moral and Religious Education in the American Home, made by Professor Clyde W. Votaw, for the Providence Convention in 1911.

The family today has a most hopeful outlook. It faces complex problems, but its toughness and resiliency as a social institution have been tested in the process of social evolution. It has always persisted as an institution in spite of wide social and economic changes. These changes have been probably greater in the past than they will be in the future. We must bear in mind that the family is not a recent invention. It is a social arrangement of long standing. Contrary to former views, the small family group was definitely recognized in the maternal organization of primitive peoples. The relation of mother and child has been a very permanent relation. That of father and child has been only less so. Today the educator, psychiatrist, psychoanalyst, psychologist, social worker and sociologist, as well as the religionist, unite to stress the significance of these relations and to describe as accurately as possible the fundamental character of the process of interaction in the family.

The outlook is hopeful because an increasing number of persons are becoming aware of the significance of the family and are seeking to define its function in social life and progress. Enlightened and skilled intelligence is being applied to the problems of the family. Accurate knowledge and wise choice are being substituted more and more for blind impulse and uncontrolled passion. Science and education as well as custom are assisting individuals and families in making adjustments. The awakening of parents to the consciousness of the functions of the family has been especially characteristic of the past decade and it is the largest single element of promise in the present situation. It is with hope and renewed confidence, not fear and trembling, that one rises from a survey of the family during the last ten years. It would seem that the golden age of the home lies ahead of us and not behind.

This survey will concern itself with those trends in American life during the last ten years which have made for the welfare and happiness of the family. There are five major tendencies which seem especially worthy of discussion. They are: (I), THE AWAKENING OF THE FAMILY TO ITS ROLE IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE; (II), THE MORE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF CHILD LIFE; (III), THE EXTENSION OF JUSTICE TO THE FAMILY BY PUBLIC AND SOCIAL AGENCIES; (IV), THE WAR AND ITS INFLUENCE, and (V), THE AWAKENING OF THE CHURCHES.

I. THE AWAKENING OF THE FAMILY TO ITS ROLE IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE

What is to be the role of the family in an age of increasing specialization? The family was formerly the principal unit of society, the cell in the social organism. It is not so now. That distinction is passing more and more to the individual. At best, the family is but one of many competing units. It has been shorn of its several functions one by one. The question inevitably arises, what functions will be left for the family to perform if this division of labor continues? Is it to be reduced to social nullity and pushed back to a mere biological term? "Education is now almost wholly a public concern; religious teaching is largely confined to the church; industrial training either to the school or the shop. The recreational center of gravity has moved out of the home and in the direction of the street, the school,

the public playground and the settlement house. *Patria potestas* is thus split up among the teacher, truant officer, priest, judge, factory inspector, play leader, shop foreman, or union business agent."¹ Where is this tendency to lead us? Is the family to be divested of all its prerogatives and rendered functionless except as a place where births occur and the immature and unspecialized members of society are boarded until they become mature and specialized? Is the family to become a vestigial institution and disappear in favor of the Spartan common table or Plato's common nursery? There are those who advocate that the feeding and nurture of babies from birth on be turned over to a bureaucracy of experts. Such a specialists' utopia, however, has not appealed to the sober student of social institutions.

The family has by no means played out. One can prophesy with some confidence about the future. It may not be so large or so inclusive a group tomorrow as it was yesterday. It, too, may become more specialized in its functions. Many of the tasks which once fell to its lot to perform are already being better done by other agencies. But when all the subtractions necessitated by a complex and specialized society have been made, the family will remain a most significant and strategic institution in our social life.

Biologically race renewal still occurs through the family and the physical stock of the next generation is determined. It is the portal by which we all enter human life and society. Socially the family is the principal primary group which transforms our original nature into a human nature. It is the first carrier of our cultural and social heritage. Educationally the home is the child's first school. Just how important this school is can scarcely be overestimated. The head-master of Eton calls the influences of the home "the corner stone of education." "It is in no spirit of weak sentimentality or tradition worship that psychologists and social writers tell us no substitute has yet been found for the intelligent mother as a developer of the personality, the individual qualities, of her offspring."² Morally the family is the cradle of our basic social ideals and the most formative force in the development of conscience and character. It is the first soil in which habits and virtues grow. Religiously the influence of the home is all pervasive. The atmosphere and attitudes of the family group are clearly reflected in the attitudes and motives of the children. Nowhere is the interpenetration of minds more complete. The home is thus the matrix of our religious attitudes and ideals. It is "the microcosm of which a society of neighbor-love is the macrocosm." Those who believe the family is rapidly approaching the vanishing point in American society have taken a superficial view of conditions. The readjustments which contemporary life is forcing us to make have but awakened the family to an understanding of its fundamental tasks.

II. THE MORE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF CHILD LIFE

It is a commonplace that our science of human nature in comparison with the physical sciences is very rudimentary. Perhaps more attention has been given to the scientific study of child nature and development than has been given to any other phase of human nature. The modern child study movement in our own country goes back less than a generation to the researches of G. Stanley Hall. Yet since then our knowledge has been widely

1. A. J. Todd; *The Family In Social Evolution*. Conference of Social Work, 1922—p. 14f.

2. W. Goodsell: *The Family As a Social Institution*.

extended and our methods of study have been markedly improved. The past decade has been particularly significant in its advances and emphases.

Child study has become less anecdotal, doctrinaire and speculative, more accurate, objective and experimental in its approach to its problems. Human sentiments have hindered progress here. The child is enshrined in our emotions and where sentiments are powerful any objective study is difficult. The behavioristic movement, however, has given us a fruitful method of procedure, and a new approach to old problems. The study of activities and adjustments removes psychology from the metaphysical to the scientific realm. Data can be substituted for fancies and scientific method for speculation. Whatever its critics may declare about the limitations of the movement the rigorous application of the scientific method to the field of child study cannot but prove fruitful. The major interests of science in the last generation were biology and evolution. The major interests of science in this generation are human behavior and its control. This is the central problem in this new approach. The deeply formulative character of the first six years of child life is disputed by no one. Yet our actual and accurate knowledge of the processes at work in this period is rather meagre. Professor John B. Watson declares that very few children have been studied with any degree of care from birth to the age of six years and suggests an experimental nursery where fifteen or twenty children might be kept for the first five or six years, under normal conditions, but subject to an intensive scientific study.³ Something like such patient, painstaking research deserves to be done for children.

The biological factors do not play so large, so exclusive, so dominant a part in our thinking about child life today. The social factors are coming in for fuller consideration. Formerly the biological factors in child nature were all but determining. They are still recognized and appreciated but are better understood and are given their setting in a social world that is regarded as equally if not more determinative. We are learning that what a child shall become, if he be normal, depends, not so much on what his grandfather and great grandfather were, as on the manner of his rearing, and especially on the social groups in which he is immersed. He is highly plastic when he arrives in this world, a welter of undefined impulses. There are relatively few fixed mechanisms in his body. His instinctive tendencies—though one must speak softly here—are highly modifiable, more so than the psychology of a decade ago admitted. His impulses get their set, are defined, directed, crystallized into habits, under the folkways and mores of the early primary groups into which he is born, the family, the play group, and the neighborhood. His basic attitudes, habits, moods, purposes and world of values grow out of his interaction with these primary groups.

Thus the social complex of manners, customs, attitudes and ideals into which the child is born takes on profound significance. These are what impress, mold and shape his character. That there are discoverable individual and racial differences is not denied. But they are not so unyielding nor do they bulk so large as formerly believed. Much that was once ascribed to biological inheritance is now traced to its source in cultural and social heredity. It is this initial family world that literally transforms our original nature

3. See *Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education*, 1917, Jennings, Watson, Meyer and Thomas.

into a human nature. It is through this early process of interaction with persons and the interpenetration of minds in the family that the infant organism achieves human personality. More than at any previous period do we know that destiny is almost identical with the influences and personnel of the family group.

Contemporary psychology has made us more hopeful about child nature and human nature than we once were. They are not depraved, or eternally fixed in their forms. The child does not come into the world with a load of guilt in either its germ plasm or body plasm, nor does it come with its life-pattern of reactions stamped upon it through biological inheritance. It does come plastic and responsive with manifold potentialities for both good and evil. The influences that play upon it after it arrives decide what kind of a human nature it will have. Human nature is thus not a datum, given to begin with, in our experience; it is a resultant, something developed and acquired in the process of living. It is being made and remade under the strokes and pressures, the interplay and exchange, the irritations and responses of social interaction. The only thing fixed about human nature are the laws of its change. "To any one who asserts as a dogma that 'Human nature never changes,' it is fair to reply, 'It is human nature to change itself.'"⁴ We are gradually discovering the laws of change and we may yet refashion human nature nearer to our heart's desire.

The emotional significances of infancy and childhood have been revealed in particular in recent researches. "The first few years are the all important ones for shaping the emotional life of the child." Psychoanalysis and psychiatry have made these helpful discoveries for parents and educators. The emotional life is so significant because it is a dynamic and propulsive force in man. It provides incentives and drives to many types of action. When this emotional life goes wrong or is poorly controlled, personality suffers from unhealthy repressions, unwholesome inhibitions, and perverse antagonisms. Students of childhood have stressed the cognitive and ideational development of the child as compared with the affective and conative development. The latter are coming in for careful examination. The mar-
ring of the emotional and volitional life in those tender years may lead to serious mental conflicts, impulsions, obsessions and delinquency at adolescence or later. The casual relationships here are being traced more clearly each year. That we may meet the problems arising in childhood more wisely and helpfully if we understand the significance and process of emotional development is one of our late findings. The mental hygiene of childhood is just as necessary as physical hygiene for full orb'd development of personality.

The need of children for wholesome activity and play has become one of the ten commandments of psychology. Activity is essential both for mental health and mental growth. More guidance and less repression is the principle to which the wise parent adheres. Education, and especially religious education, has too often been satisfied with the transfer of ideas from a book or the mind of the teacher to the mind of the pupil as its goal. The inculcation of ideational material, the riveting of concepts and precepts upon the memory, this was the heart of teaching. Someone has dubbed it "the cold storage theory"

4. Hocking, W. E., *Human Nature and Its Remaking*.

of the mind. That conceptual and ideational material are a necessary and integral part of the educative process is not gainsaid. But life is not chiefly a conceptual affair. It is rather an unending stream of adjustments, a shifting current of adaptations, a persistent series of adventures, activities and enterprises. The development of personality comes through purposeful living, through the choice and pursuit of goals, the formation and execution of plans, the intelligent and co-operative prosecution of social enterprises. Ideational and conceptual material are employed in the process, but the purposes and activities are central and controlling, while ideas are useful instruments in carrying out the plans. Education at its best is coming to be thought of as "a graded series of experiments in social living" rather than as an introduction to a graded series of concepts and ideas. Play is the means whereby the child makes many of its most significant experiments in social living.

The idea that the child is a sexless being has been standard. Contrary to the opinions traditionally held, it is possessed of a developing sexuality the roots of which reach back into infancy. The sexuality of the child should be regarded as a perfectly normal tendency. It needs to be recognized because it exists as a fact and cannot be dealt with by refusing to see it. The sex curiosity of the child should be taken seriously. It has a right to satisfying information. The problem of sex hygiene and education will begin in the home. The child's questions about sex usually come before school age and parents can treat the subject with more sympathy than teachers. Both home and school, however, must face this problem. "No problem is more closely related to the nervous, mental and moral equilibrium and none more closely dependent on the co-operation of home and school than that of what the school shall do with the realities of sex life. Sex-instruction without a sympathetic and co-operative home training, is to say the least, problematic."⁵ Not all parents are equipped to deal with the child's questions as they arise. The school may have to conduct parents' classes for instruction and guidance. But many clear, wise and sane books on such subjects are now available. Pastors would do well to recommend such books to parents. The School may impart the general information and principles of sex and sex behavior in courses of nature study, biology and physiology. The more personal and intimate problems will probably have to be met by parents if they are met at all. We now recognize that the sex instruction of youth is not a matter of whether youth receives information or not; it is the more primary problem of whether he receives it from intelligent and reverent or misinformed and vicious sources. If wise and proper sex instruction could be assured every child born henceforth into our social order, the proportion of the suffering and immorality undergone by humanity would steadily diminish. Here is strategic opportunity for every parent equipped for his task.⁶

5. Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education, *ibid*, p. 209.

6. See Bigelow, M. A., *Sex Education*, 1916, for a judicious discussion of this entire problem, also T. W. Galloway's pamphlet, *The Responsibilities of Religious Leaders in Sex Education*, 1921, published by American Social Hygiene Assn., 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

The most significant advances in child study are yet to come. The foremost investigators in the field do not claim any finality for their discoveries; but a good and important beginning has been made. The improvement of our methods of investigation has been the greatest single gain of the preceding decade. Already fresh and stimulating points of view and new approaches have been made to familiar problems as a result of these better methods. The more deeply we probe into the processes which modify and transform child nature the more important appear the influences of the home. To lay bare these processes, giving a clear and accurate description of them, is a task to which the psychology of childhood is dedicated. The revelations which are made through this careful, intensive and patient study are more and more available for parents. If the power of control which comes from such knowledge is consecrated to high social and Christian ends, the human nature of the future may be a new thing under the sun.

III. THE EXTENSION OF JUSTICE TO THE FAMILY AND ITS MEMBERS

A positive tendency may be seen in history to substitute the giving of justice for the struggle for rights. The rights that are fought for in one generation tend to become the standard of justice in the next. In the preceding decade there has been manifested a disposition on the part of public and social agencies to see that justice is done the family and its members. Indeed the extension of justice is recognized today as one of the rights of the family. Not all the rights of the family have been by any means established. But a significant attitude has been created and is finding concrete expression in organizations and institutions for the defense and improvement of family life.

The Federal Children's Bureau is one expression of this attitude to guarantee justice.⁷ It was created in 1912 and was an expression of the determination of many people that the problems of child care should become a national concern. At the time of its institution it was the first public agency in the world commissioned to consider as a whole the problems of childhood and child life. Since its establishment similar bureaus have been created in Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, Russia, Poland and Yugoslavia. The functions of the Bureau have been restricted to the investigation and reporting of conditions affecting child life. It disseminates information through magazines, books, pamphlets and bulletins. The foreign-language press is utilized by the Bureau in its endeavor to reach that large group in our population which cannot read English. It supplies materials for use in public exhibits, expositions, county fairs, etc. Each year sees many accurate and timely bulletins, both popular and technical, issued on matters pertaining to child welfare. Its bulletins on the care of children have been widely distributed and are given for the asking.⁸

7. See Tenth Annual report of Chief, Children's Bureau, 1922, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office. The first chief of the Bureau was Miss Julia C. Lathrop, 1912-21. Miss Grace Abbott is its present chief. 1921—.

8. A pamphlet announcing its complete list of publications may be had by writing Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. All publications of the Bureau are given without charge to the public.

See especially Bulletins on Prenatal Care, Infant Care, Child Care.

When the Children's Bureau was organized no birth-registration area had been established by the division of vital statistics of the Bureau of the Census. Facts were not available, especially on infant mortality. Today, the birth-registration area includes 29 states, the District of Columbia, and 66 per cent of the population. Forty-six states now have special bureaus or divisions giving attention to child health as against one such state in 1912. More than half the states have created special commissions to make comprehensive inquiries into all aspects of child welfare. This has been done with a view to bringing the State's care of children up to the standards set by the Federal Children's Bureau. In more than half the states, the dependent, neglected or delinquent children are cared for by bureaus specially created for that purpose. Forty states have provided mother's pensions in contrast with two such states in 1912. The Federal Children's Bureau has been an active and aggressive agent in these wholesome developments. It has been able to focus national attention upon the more important aspects of child care and to stimulate effective public action.

The growth of child labor legislation has been encouraging. The National Child Labor Committee, organized in 1904,⁹ deserves highest praise for its large part in establishing the standards of child protection that obtain at present. The majority of states have forward looking laws; a minority are still medieval in their legislation and attitude; none of them has adequate child labor protection. But there have been marked advances. In 1912, twenty-one states prohibited employment of children under fourteen years in factories, stores, etc. Now all but three states have this law and these three are not industrial states. One of them has a fourteen-year age minimum for girls and a twelve-year minimum for boys. The states limiting industrial work of children to an eight-hour day have been more than doubled and now number thirty-four. In 1912 only twenty-one states prohibited children under sixteen, in some cases under eighteen years where extra hazardous work was involved, from occupations dangerous to life or limb or injurious to health or morals. Now practically all states recognize by special provisions the extra hazardous and injurious occupations. All but four states have some prohibition of night work and nineteen states, ten more than in 1912, prohibit night work in all gainful occupations covered by law. Every state now has an educational minimum for its children, whereas in 1912 five had none. Fewer than half the states ten years ago made any requirement as to physical fitness of children who were employed. All but nine do this at present although the determination of physical fitness is left in most cases to the permit-issuing officer. Thus a decade reveals the trend of legislation toward a more humane attitude toward and just defense of childhood.

Two Federal Child Labor Acts have been passed and declared unconstitutional, one in 1917, the second in 1918. The first was based on the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the second upon the taxing power of Congress. The failure of these laws to be sustained may serve to bring the states into line to abolish child labor. In case the states do not act, federal action may be necessary through constitutional encroachment on the autonomy of local government. At present twenty-one

9. Send to 105 East 22nd St., New York City, for its bulletins, etc. It publishes *The American Child*—a monthly bulletin. Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary.

states fall below the standards of child protection set up by the second Federal Child Labor Law. One beneficial influence was set in motion by the first federal child labor law. It sought to establish a fourteen-year minimum for child labor. At that time no nation had adopted such a standard. Now twelve leading nations of the world have such a national minimum. Only seven American states, however, have come up to this standard.

The Sheppard-Towner Act, known popularly as the Maternity Bill, is another indication of present trends. It was passed by Congress and became a law in November, 1921. The administration of the Act was definitely placed in the hands of the Federal Children's Bureau. It is a federal and state cooperative undertaking to reduce maternal and infant mortality. We should stand first among the nations in every phase of maternal and child welfare. As a matter of fact the United States is fourteenth in its rate of maternal mortality and sixth in infant mortality rate.¹⁰ That is, there are thirteen countries where the mother's life is safer in child birth, and five countries where the life of babies is safer. Our standing in these respects should be advanced until we are foremost. By the provision of the Sheppard-Towner Act, the federal government gives a subsidy to the states which accept the act. This subsidy is to be expended in the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of mother and infants, through maternity and infant centers, public health nurses, and other educational measures. The state makes and carries out the plans, which must be approved by the Federal Children's Board. Already forty-two states have accepted the terms of the act.

The scientific study of juvenile delinquency marks a long forward step not only in the extension of justice to childhood but in the control and elimination of crime. A psychopathic clinic was established in Chicago in connection with the Juvenile Court in 1909. It was initiated and maintained until 1914 through the generosity of one of the members of the Juvenile Protective Association. At that time it was taken over by Cook County. It is now known as The Institute of Juvenile Research. This Institute originated because it was discovered that the end products in crime and insanity cannot be very successfully treated. It was thought that a careful study of delinquency in its incipient stages would prove more fruitful in giving control. As one member of the staff expressed it, they attempt to deal with fireworks on the third of July instead of the fifth. Children who manifest unwholesome anti-social tendencies, as well as positive delinquents, are examined. A careful social history of the case is taken. Then a physical examination and mental tests are given followed by a psychiatric interview. The staff discuss the case informally and make their recommendations for treatment. Their methods are cautious, and scientific. Inquiry into a case starts without a premise as to the cause and a thorough diagnosis is made before treatment is prescribed. There is individualization of each case, as complete an examination and analysis as present methods permit, and recommendations are based on a conference following a careful survey of the case. Such procedure cannot but yield scientifically valid results in time. The

10. "We cannot help the world toward democracy if we despise democracy at home; and it is despised when mother and child die needlessly. It is despised in the person of every child who is left to grow up ignorant, weak, unskilled, unhappy, no matter what its race or color."—Julia C. Lathrop. *Proceedings*, N. E. A., 1919, p. 113.

causal relationships and processes in delinquency will be laid bare. This is the primary step in its elimination. Similar institutions have been created in some of the other larger cities, one of the most celebrated being the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, established in 1917.

Many national organizations promote in one way or another, the well being of children and the family. The Child-Welfare Exhibit held in New York in January, 1911, stimulated a movement that is still continuing its educational mission. The National Child Welfare Association prepares educational panels, posters and pictures for display in school rooms, community centers, churches, etc., wherever the message of health and energy for children is wanted. Through the method of visual education the Association is evangelizing America for Child health.¹⁰ The American Child Health Association came into being on January 1st, 1923, by a merging of The Child Health Organization of America (founded 1918) and the American Child Hygiene Association (founded 1909). The amalgamation should promote economy, efficiency, and improved service. It is concerned with fostering the health and welfare of mothers and children through health education. It conducts investigations, holds conferences and prepares arresting posters and bulletins. It has been especially happy in devising fascinating health booklets for children. It cooperates to the limit of its staff with all health movements.¹¹ The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work was launched in 1911. Its purpose is "promoting the extension and development of family social work in the United States and Canada and in other ways furthering the development of sound, healthy and normal family life." Its membership is open to welfare societies whose standards of work meet certain definite stipulations. It is part of a nationwide movement for strengthening family life and helping our country realize its ideals. Its Field Staff visits societies that do family welfare work and seeks to strengthen the work in the individual community. They are very effective in awakening local communities and elevating the professional standards in local charity and welfare groups.¹² A similar organization for raising standards of work among child-caring agencies had its inception in Baltimore, May, 1915, and was completed in June, 1921. It is known as The Child Welfare League of America.¹³

One might extend the list of agencies that are seeking justice for childhood and the family much farther. Many worthy groups are at work. Limitations of time and space forbid a more complete enumeration. Surely we shall not perish for want of vision with so many socially minded and sacrificial individuals and organizations laboring in behalf of these precious national assets. Perhaps in no previous decade of the history of civilization have so many trained, intelligent people and such highly developed scientific methods been employed in the study, improvement and enrichment of child-

10. Headquarters are Educational Building, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Charles F. Powlinson, General Secretary. The Tenth Annual Report giving a resume of their work during the past ten years is now available.

11. General Executive is Courtney Dinwiddie, Administrative Office, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City, Publish "Mother and Child" monthly. Headquarters, 532 17th Street, Washington, D. C.

12. Headquarters, Room 706, 130 East 2nd Street, New York City. Executive Director is David H. Holbrook. It publishes a monthly magazine called *The Family*.

13. Headquarters, 130 East 22nd Street, New York City, President, Miss H. Ida Curry.

hood and family life. And we believe we are but at the beginning of the movement.

IV. THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON THE FAMILY¹⁴

That the war had baneful effects upon the family cannot be denied. We have heard much about the cost of the late war. The most significant item of the bill which it presented to civilization has been seldom mentioned, namely the emotional cost. This was paid in large part by homes. There were other costs. The sheer loss of young life and its effect on the human stock, the disorganization of families that resulted from the strains and bereavements, the nervous and mental tensions that were inevitable in such a conflict, these and other costs, have not been, and in the nature of the case, cannot be estimated. But there have been gains growing out of the war and one should hasten to mention them.

1. New standards of public health, especially with reference to venereal disease, have been established.¹⁵ Military tradition in the past not only permitted but rather encouraged sex indulgence in the soldier. The doctrine of a "sexual necessity" for men away from the normal occupations and ordinary associations of life tended to control the attitude and behavior of the army men. But the experience of European armies with the enervating and demoralizing effect of sexual immorality upon fighting men, coupled with the appeals of mothers whose sons had enlisted, and the vigorous campaign waged by various moral and religious agencies, led to a revolution in the program of the American Army. Prophylaxis was insisted upon with the result, according to Dr. Exner, that we had the cleanest army the world has ever seen in freedom from venereal diseases. More than that, a new attitude toward sexual immorality was fostered. The doctrine of a "sexual necessity" was all but disposed of. A more sane, wholesome, open attitude was taken toward the entire problem of sexual hygiene that hitherto has been suppressed under a policy of silence. According to Dr. Exner the most significant gains of the war for sexual hygiene were:

"(1) It has greatly advanced the movement for the conquest of gonorrhea and syphilis; (2) it has brought about a new and significant public attitude toward the special problems of sex, an attitude of readiness to discuss these problems frankly and to deal with them constructively; (3) it has dealt the death blow to segregated or tolerated prostitution in America; (4) it has largely broken down the prejudice against sex education; (5) it has committed our government to a policy and program and secured appropriations of adequate funds for dealing with the social problems of sex in aggressive and constructive fashion."

2. A closely related gain in the new national policy of prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverage which was inaugurated dur-

14. I am indebted to Professor J. H. Tufts for the substance of this division of the survey. See his article "War Time Gains for the American Family, National Conference of Social Work, 1919, pp. 326-332.

15. Venereal diseases have increased with urban life. Three per cent of the first million draftees had venereal disease. A. J. Todd says the civilian rate of infection is five times that of the American Army. The army admission rate for syphilitics was three and two-tenths per cent for negroes and two and two-tenths per cent for whites. 140,000 syphilitic babies are born annually, condemned to nervous disorders, blindness and defective lines. Surely it is time the conspiracy of silence on social diseases were broken completely and some provision for making sex life safe and sane should form a large part of our reconstruction program.

ing the war. Alcohol not only made for drunkenness and the waste of money needed by the family, personal inefficiency and the demoralization of the individual,—it competed with women for the leisure of the husband and was most successful in keeping him away from home. Now that it has been taken away, there has been a gain in the health, comfort and happiness of the family. The opportunity is provided to spend their play time together. One of the pressing problems, declares Professor Tufts, is "to open up new ways of enjoyment in which the whole family can share." The moving picture theatres are serving largely in this capacity. We have just begun to learn that the motion picture is adapted fundamentally for families. It is perhaps our only national amusement that attracts the whole family, gives them change, relaxation and thrill and permits them to discuss life-problems in common at home following an evening's entertainment. We have allowed it to develop along commercial lines while it is one of the greatest social assets in American life. There are motion picture houses in our land, with a seating capacity of over 13,000,000. It is estimated that as many as 20,000,000 people attend these recreational houses daily. To deny that the photoplay presents a social and moral problem, and that it may be a powerful force for good is to reveal social blindness. Prohibition has insured certain negative gains but it has also placed upon us certain positive responsibilities. One of the chief is the provision of leisure time activities for the family.

3. The war advanced the standard of living for many families. The cost of maintaining the family in health and vigor has also advanced. But in numerous instances wages have more than kept pace with rising costs. Many families have enjoyed a bit larger incomes, have experienced a higher standard of family life, have had some of the decencies and comforts and conveniences which had not previously been theirs. These gains will not be readily relinquished—and should not be. The disposition of our government has been to lay the burdens of this late war to a higher degree than usual upon the well-to-do. This is where it rightfully belongs. The graduated income tax and taxes on luxuries are healthful indications of progress. The standard of living is not what it ought to be for all. But there is a new spirit and attitude slowly permeating industry, which promises more perhaps than any immediate and large gain in wage scales. There is gradually growing up the conviction that industry is for service and not profit, that the human materials and human products of factory, mine and shop, are far more important than the economic output and market product. An acquisitive society is becoming slowly a functional society.

4. Perhaps the greatest influence of the war has been the impetus given the movement for equality between men and women. The war did not initiate this movement but seems to have speeded it up considerably. Large opportunities for employment in business and industry were opened to woman during the war. This has given her a new freedom and a sense of independence. Her higher education has proceeded apace. Her participation in labor unions, the Red Cross, War Campaigns, etc., has given her training in leadership, management and cooperation on a large scale. All this has served to train woman as man's equal and to demonstrate her capacity as well as right, to share with him in authority, in the making of decisions, in the forming of policies. The old semi-patriarchal family type is

passing in this country.¹⁶ In its place is emerging the new democratic family type. The home in a political and industrial and political democracy must become a veritable "laboratory in democracy" if it is to perform its function of social education. All tendencies to subordinate women in church, state, industry and the family are being done away. Every member of the family is coming to be recognized as having certain inalienable rights of personality. The war to make the world safe for democracy did serve to help democracy prevail in the family.

5. The most significant influence of the war has been the ardent hope and deep resolve that war itself shall cease. War is an ancient enemy of the family. It has taken the male members to play its game, trampled upon many of the sanctities of family life, placed the burden of life upon women and children and exploited human personality for the sake of insecure and doubtful gains. Is it any wonder that there is a growing and insistent demand that this war shall be the last? This is not a utopian dream. Slavery and drunkenness are ancient institutions, as ancient as war. The last century has witnessed successful attempts to eliminate them from our social life. The removal of war is not an impracticable change. "So far from civilization being practically unchangeable," says Benjamin Kidd, "or only changeable through influence operating slowly over long periods of time, the world can be changed in a brief space of time. Within the life of a single generation it can be made to undergo changes so profound, so revolutionary, so permanent, that it would almost appear as if human nature itself had been completely altered in the interval. If but one-half the intelligence and effort which nations have hitherto directed towards the collective organization of society for war were directed towards the study and collective organization of society in the light of this knowledge, it would result in its becoming visible on all hands that civilization can be altered so radically and so quickly that the outlook of humanity on nearly every fundamental matter can be changed in a single generation."¹⁷ One could substitute the word "century" for the word "generation" in the preceding, and be satisfied with such a hope.

Thus the war, with its brood of evil consequences, has stimulated promising movements and created significant values for the family. The changed attitude and campaign on venereal diseases, unheard of a decade ago, the enforcement of national prohibition, the improvement of the standard of living, the drive toward equality between men and women and the coming of democracy in the family, and the serious purpose and endeavor to end war itself, all bear upon the enrichment and fulfillment of normal family life.

V. THE AWAKENING OF THE CHURCHES

This is an ambitious title for a movement whose stirrings are little more than visible. One wishes a more promising report might be made. There are evidences, however, that the churches of America are awakening to a sense of responsibility for the stimulation and development of a wholesome religious spirit in the home. Several denominations are pushing their programs with unwonted vigor and enthusiasm. In this crowded and hurried age, we may yet find time and means to cultivate the family devotional life

16. See *The Bookman*, Feb., 1923. "The American Parent and Child," by Rufus M. Jones, discusses "the American experiment."

17. Benjamin Kidd, *The Science of Power*, pp. 112 and 113.

and especially to spiritualize the atmosphere and tone of the home. A thoroughly Christian home is the necessary preparation for and precursor to a Christian social order.

The Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Unitarians have prepared excellent pamphlets concerning religion in the home. Some of these give detailed directions concerning family worship and suggest interesting brief programs for family use. The Protestant Episcopal Church appointed a Commission on Religion in the Home which submitted a comprehensive survey, in May, 1922, as a basis for further action in their church. That the Jews are alert to the problem of religion in the home is shown in illuminating addresses on the topics given at the fourth and fifth Biennial Assemblies of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods. These pamphlets may be had by writing the departments of education in the churches mentioned.

Many notable books and pamphlets for parents designed to assist them in the religious and moral nurture and training of children have appeared within the last few years. The abundance of the material leads one to infer that there is a growing demand for such literature. These books may serve a double purpose. Many of them were intended to be used as texts in parent training classes conducted by the churches, woman's clubs, Christian Associations, etc. But they are so engagingly written that they supply fascinating reading for every mother and father. Few novels could be more absorbing than these books to the parent who has a genuine heart interest in his children. Pastors and religious educators, who cannot find a place in their programs for parent training classes, would do well to call the attention of parents to these volumes and pamphlets and start their circulation in their respective parishes.¹⁸

The Promotion of Religion in the Home through Parent-Training classes is a live project in many churches. The experiment conducted in the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Pasadena, California, has been especially successful. There are others of equal merit in various localities. This one in particular demonstrates what can be done when persistence, intelligence, skill and patience are focussed upon this problem. The pastor and educational director enlisted the interest and cooperation of the parents of Cradle Roll, Beginner and Primary children. The lack of adequate home training in religion and morals was frankly faced. The parents organized into a Church Parent-Teacher Association, prepared vital programs of genuine worth to parents and met to discuss their common problems. Out of this grew a demand for a definite daily program of religious training which mothers could use in the home. Parents agreed to give fifteen minutes a day to such training provided concrete and definite assistance were given. The entire experiment has enlisted the home in cooperation with the Church School in the fundamental task of religious education. The response of parents has been enthusiastic and sustained.¹⁹

18. Baker, E. D., *Parenthood and Child Nurture*, The Macmillan Company. Betts, G. F., *The Mother-Teacher of Religion*, Abingdon Press. Cope, H. F., *Religious Education and the Family*, U. of C. Press. Richardson, N. E., Editor, *The American Home Series*, Abingdon Press. Contains 36 exceedingly valuable pamphlets for parents. Sneath, Hodge and Tweedy, *Religious Training in the School and Home*, The Macmillan Company. St. John, E. P., *Child Nature and Child Nurture*, Pilgrim Press. Weigle, L. A., *The Training of Children in the Christian Family*, Pilgrim Press.

19. See *Home Lessons in Religion*, Vols. I, II, and III, by Samuel Wells Stagg and Mary Boyd Stagg. These lessons are for three, four and five year old children.

Professor Coe has suggested that "all members of the church who have growing children should be accounted members of the staff of instructors (of the Church School), accounted so not merely in sentiment, but also administratively. Upon the birth of the first child the parents' names should be recorded as teachers, just as the child's name should be recorded as a pupil in the Cradle Roll or Font Roll department. And not until all their living children have graduated from the Church School should the names of such parents be dropped from the roll of teachers. In the meantime they should be given continuous supervision; they should make annual reports just as other teachers and all officers should do; and training classes and departmental staff meetings should be provided." When I first read that statement I thought it daring and visionary, "a consummation devoutly to be wished," but I did not suppose that this generation would enter the promised land. And we have not, as yet, even emerged from our long wandering in the wilderness. But there are those who behold the promised land afar off. If the church had a bit truer sense of values, if she had the wisdom of her Master, who placed "a child in their midst," and the enterprise of modern industry, she would embody such a suggestion as Professor Coe offers in the heart of her program.

There are many parents who desire to rear their children as Christians. They have caught the spirit of their Master and are devoted disciples. Their unconscious influence, the contagion of character, the pervasive power of Christian personality, all will be tremendously effective in the Christian nurture of their children. But these parents lack knowledge and crave the guidance of the church. They are not prepared to cope with many problems which arise in the life of youth today. They have the highest ideals and the best of motives but they are uninformed, baffled, disheartened in the presence of the new adjustments and unforeseen conflicts. They are sheep without a shepherd. It is just beginning to dawn upon the sensitive and discriminating leaders of the church that here is a crucial need for a new type of service and ministry. The church has always believed in the home and indulged in lavish rhetoric about its primacy. It is now called upon to add a program to its creed and distil its eloquence into action. We have seen that the way to change human nature for the better is to improve the social institutions which shape and fashion human nature into what it is. If the church would realize the vision of her Master, let her concentrate more of her energy and intelligence upon the religious training of parents and children in the home. Let this awakening, which is but a faint beginning, extend, until the problem of child nurture and family ethics and religion becomes central rather than peripheral, as it is at present. We shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven until we place a Christian evaluation upon the home.

In conclusion, let us reaffirm a statement made near the beginning of this survey,—that the golden age of the family is yet to come. Tremendously strong and fine factors are at work to promote the welfare, the happiness, the improvement of child life and the home. Never before has our American nation held child life in so great esteem, understood its processes and problems with so much sympathy and insight, guaranteed it so many rights and sought to minister so completely to its unfoldment and fulfillment. Never before has there been such a high evaluation of the home, a

clearer perception of its function in social life, so much consecrated and skilled intelligence applied to its problems, so many safeguards and defenses thrown around to protect it.

The magnitude of present day problems is not to be minimized. They require satisfactory solution if the home is to have life and have it more abundantly. But there are hopeful and redemptive tendencies at work which will elevate, enrich and magnify the family. The church has a deepening consciousness of her responsibility here and is girding herself for this promising service. We have long heard that "righteousness exalteth a nation." We now know that the seat and source of righteousness is in the home.

Changes in Social Order Affecting the Life of the Home and Its Task of Religious Education

HERBERT A. MILLER, PH.D.*

There are few changes in the social order that have not exerted an influence on the family. There are both the changes which have come in economics and the social, political system, and those which have come in the family itself.

Of the many changes the most fundamental has been economic, and the relation of the family to production. This change has come almost within a generation. I remember as a boy to have known an old farmer in New Hampshire who prided himself on the fact that the only thing he had to buy came from the blacksmith, everything else was raised and manufactured on the farm. This situation was formerly approximated on every farm, and the whole family took part in the production, and had both the experience and the dignity which came from playing such an important part in the very existence of the family group. What has happened in recent years has been revolutionary. According to Professor Ross, "four-fifths of the industrial processes carried on in the average American home in 1850 have departed never to return."

When the production went out of the home the women followed it to the factory, and we now have the social problem which is called "Women in Industry." A minimum wage law for women would have had no meaning in 1850, but when the law is now declared unconstitutional there is a widespread feeling, undoubtedly not always clearly defined, that the judges who found it unconstitutional were judging from the point of view of 1850 rather than of the present time.

It is not necessary to go into detail about the significance of this new status of the home through the taking of production out of it, but its consequences to father, mother, and children have been so far-reaching that we have not yet been able to realize them. In the first place, it has made possible a great deal of freedom for the women, and irresponsibility for the children. The freedom may be used constructively, and often is, but it may result in waste of energy and demoralization, and that is taking place to a very large extent among those families in which it might be said that the constituency of the Religious Education Association normally would be found. There has been relatively little change in the wealthy homes, and much less in the poorer homes, than in the fairly economically independent homes.

In the old days the wife made a contribution to the economic maintenance of the home that gave her self respect and confidence; now, at the very time when women are emerging into a new freedom politically and socially, they have an economic dependence because so much of industry has been taken out of the home, so unless they have followed it, they must be supported without an adequate economic contribution. There is nothing to fill this void except a new sense of moral responsibility. Here, first, I think, is a place for religious education to begin. One of the results of this freedom has been ennui and actual nervous disorgan-

*A paper read before the Family Section at the Cleveland Convention by the Professor of Sociology of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

ization which in some measure accounts for the enormous growth of Christian Science among middle class women. The increase in the number of divorces is in some degree the result of the same cause, though there are other factors entering into that.

One of the greatest problems resulting from the taking of production out of the home to the factory has been the loss of training both in the work itself and in teaching responsibility to the children. The modern home finds it very difficult to find normal work for children to do. Sewing and cooking are done only in the smallest degree. The need to use tools and to get the water and the wood have vanished. The educational value of such activities can hardly be measured, and it is very difficult to find adequate substitutes for them in school and playground, and yet if no substitutes are found there will be a great loss to the social health and morality.

The educational system has done its best to keep up with the changing social order, and at the present time is more consciously trying to adapt itself to the new valuations, as is indicated by the widespread questioning of the efficiency of education. It is admitted, however, that the moral control that was exercised by the family formerly is not adequately met by the school.

Closely related to the conditions that have just been mentioned has been the transfer of so great a part of the population from the country to the city. It is not necessary to discuss the effect this has had. More important is the increased *mobility* of people. A couple of generations ago, the majority of people spent their lives in the community in which they were born. The result was a conserving social control which prevented any wide departure from the accepted moral code. Now comparatively few people spend their whole lives in one place, and many live in several places, and tear themselves loose from normal, continuous community control. This is peculiarly true of the immigrant, who under the freedom from village influence departs far from the traditional conduct, and furnishes a disproportion of inmates of penal institutions. But what is more overt in the case of the immigrant is no less true as a tendency in the rest of us. The question is how to get birds of passage under the influence of a group. Religion is so largely a family and community experience that it is peculiarly difficult to bring the transient under its influence.

More far-reaching than all other social changes as affecting the home has been the growth of the emancipation of women which is still in the transition stage. All of our perspective of social problems may be out of focus because we are in the chaos of passage from a man's world to a co-operative society, or a dominantly woman's world. No such upheaval as this can possibly take place without doubt, experiment, overemphasis, false leads, and periods of consternation.

Political emancipation is a mere incident. The emancipation of attitudes is an infinitely more difficult thing. Practically all social values are man made. Even the vocabulary which we use and the doctrines of belief are man made. Political institutions and codes of ethics are the product of men, and it is psychologically impossible to shake off their dominance in habits in a single generation. The consequence is, that the consciousness of free personality which is coming to women often seeks symbolic and bizarre methods of expression. It may be the adoption of a masculine vice

like smoking and profanity, or a feminine demand for the right of motherhood. At least it appears in a defiance of authority and tradition. This is probably the chief reason for the high divorce rate. The wife no longer endures.

Since the family primarily rests on the sex instincts which is always in unstable equilibrium and is kept in such control as prevails at any time or place, by social control through habit, example, and religious teaching, any disturbance of these controls must result in a tendency to disorganization. This is exactly what is now taking place. It is accompanied by fundamentally new ideas from the fields of biology and psychology, which will eventually clarify our vision incalculably but which now adds somewhat to the confusion. A single standard of morals may mean a single standard of immorality. There are those who advocate this. The contribution which both biology and psychology make definite is that sex plays a tremendous and normal part in both the conscious and unconscious determination of the individual. They have also made normal, frank discussion of matters which were indecent and taboo a generation ago. We have actually come to a condition where what was suppressed and made degrading and clandestine by religion is now elevated to a high plane of consideration. The natural is now to be reckoned with, not suppressed and deplored. This offers a tremendous field for religious education from which it has hitherto been excluded. The instability of which I have just alluded calls for a new, vigorous and sane control. This can probably be found only in religion. In the vocabulary in which this field of discussion takes place, it is necessary to sublimate rather than to inhibit the sex impulse. This sublimation calls for a broad consideration of the function of the individual in the whole social order.

The emancipation of women has resulted in the postponement of marriage and the lowering of the birth rate. We are beginning to hear from various quarters that this presages disaster to civilization, through its effect on population. The responsibility for having children, which was taken for granted by the women a couple of generations ago, is giving way to a desire for freedom, or in the competition of modern life to making sure that the children born stand more than an even chance of winning. There is a decided falling off of the birth rate in that part of the population in which there ought to be an increase, and there will have to be an appeal to the religious impulse to stimulate the social responsibility for population which cannot be reached in any other way. Under the development of freedom of discussion in these matters ideals can be suggested much earlier in life than was formerly thought possible.

The economic freedom has released the maturer women for social interests, and in millions of cases the maternal impulse is sublimated into humanitarianism, and we have the tremendous force of woman's activities in the political and social life. There is, as the result of the war, another problem related to this which may be fraught with good or evil, and will probably bring both. This is the great surplus of women of the mating age. In America it amounts to only about sixty thousand as a result of the war, but in Europe it is many millions. In addition to the disproportion of women, there is the great poverty which prevents middle class people from marrying. This abnormal situation puts the sex problem all out of focus. On the one side there will be demoralization and excessive illegiti-

macy, such as has followed all great wars, but on the other side there is a great possibility of turning the sex and maternal impulse into humanitarian channels and in some degree to turn society from the dominance of man's values to the dominance of woman's values. The leadership of America in this will have great possible influence, for just as the whole emancipation of women has had no relation to national boundaries, so lesser tendencies will become quickly widespread. The work that is to be done by this sublimation of basic impulses is distinctively in the field of service marked out for religion.

The spread of divorce which is a phenomenon of our generation is essentially selfish. If there are no children involved the social consequences are limited, but there ought to be children, and when there is a divorce the children suffer. There is a great disproportion of the children of divorced parents in penal institutions. There are other conditions which make for the same result, such as bad housing, low wages, and the mother at work outside the home.

In summing up the conclusions of this paper, we see first that there have been many disorganizing influences on the relations of the individuals in the home coming from economic changes, new freedom, and invention. With regard to those changes that might be called mechanical, the remedy must generally be found in secular efforts; the school, the playground, community organization, and the law. The interpretation of law must conform to the changed significance of the individuals and the home. The child labor law, and the minimum wage for women must be supplemented by a minimum wage for men, for unless enough is earned by the head of the family for maintaining proper home conditions society will suffer. The value of these laws must be found in their substitution under modern conditions, for the protection which the old order did not need, of a fundamental institution which changed conditions have so seriously threatened.

But more important than the physical changes of the new social order are the changes in attitudes, which have come in part from the physical changes, and in part from the very process of change itself. Human behavior is predominantly a matter of habit, and now that habits are uncertain only ideals can come from disorganization. In this field we have the place for religious education. Religion interpreted in its broadest way, but intense and vital can divert attitudes from the materialistic and sensual to the ideal and social. It must be as careful as the law itself to conform to the psychological and actual rather than find its expression in invalid doctrines and forms. The family is the agency for social training, and religion should be the system of social idealism and inspiration.

The Pre-Adolescent Girl of the Immigrant Type and Her Home

ERNEST W. BURGESS, PH.D.*

In the human relations of the family the individuality and personality of the little girl find their earliest development. The social structure of the home outranks, in importance and significance, the physical structure of the house. Even the health and morals of the little girl depend more upon the intelligence and character of her parents than upon the facts of housing, such as ratio of persons to rooms, cubic feet of air space, and square feet of window space. The relation of the little girl to her mother, her attitude to her father, the character of her association with older brothers and sisters, her responsibility for the younger children, are the social influences which, for her first six years exclusively, and for the next six years mainly, determine the organization of her habits, her character, and her personality.

The companionship of the mother is of especial significance for the little girl because of its obvious relation to womanhood. We are coming to believe that two of the functions of the mother are out of her experience, to initiate her daughter into the intimate facts of the life of woman, and into the technical duties of the housewife. If this expectation is to be fulfilled, the association between the little daughter and her mother must be one of mutual understanding and sympathy. Among the immigrant groups around our settlements we may say in general that the relationship of mother and daughter is close in a formal rather than in a sympathetic sense. The intimacy is too much that of external physical contact rather than that of inner mental community. The affection of the mother for her children seems to be more in the nature of a sense reflex rather than of a sympathetic reaction. She quite naturally and inevitably, as we shall see, tends to enter imaginatively into their mental life related as it is, to the world outside the home which is strange and mysterious to her. Reports from the different settlements agree that the relations of mother and daughter become less rather than more intimate as the little girl grows older. From six to eleven years of age she may tell the mother most of her day's happenings; from twelve to fourteen she is more likely to confide in an older sister or a girl friend and to feel that her mother "doesn't understand." After eleven years of age she tells her mother practically nothing, unless she must secure the maternal permission to go somewhere, or is in need of money, or wishes to wear the "best dress" to a party. Especially in matters treated by her as secrets, is she averse to making her mother a confidant.

While not intimate the girl usually has more or less affection for her mother. There is, of course, the greatest possible variety in the filial relation running the entire gamut from absolute disdain and disrespect of maternal attitude and authority to almost servile love. The girl in a cooking class in Hull House, who scornfully rejected a suggestion that she take home to her mother a piece of cake she had made is in sharp contrast to

*This article, by the Associate Professor of Sociology of the University of Chicago, is a chapter from the book to be published on the general subject of the pre-adolescent girl in the immigrant neighborhood, prepared by different writers, from material collected by the National Federation of Settlements, and edited by Miss Harriet Vittum, Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, Illinois.

the little girl who labored months over a black sateen dressing jacket for her "ma," while all the other girls in her sewing class were making gay plaid and pink aprons for themselves. Even where there is little outward demonstration of affection there is often a strong loyal bond between mother and daughter. The little girl believes that her mother is "fine," that she can cook much better than the "teacher" at the Settlement, and that she knows "most everything." A girl of ten upon overhearing her mother accused of intemperance defended her and denied that she ever drank. It was known that she drank heavily and had many times been drunk in the presence of her children.

The lack of intimacy is one for which neither mother nor daughter is responsible. It is the result of certain social and economic pressures. The mother with the work of a household and the care of a large family has little or no time for individual attention to the little girl. The school, the clubs at the settlement, the playground, and the "movies" take the girl out of the home for a large number of her waking hours. The mother who works away from home has even less time for her children. The mothers sometimes appreciate the situation. A Lithuanian woman who worked at a Cleveland settlement house commented on the time devoted by the wife of a resident to her children: "Of course, they are smart children; their mother spends lots of time playing with them and helping them to learn things; when I go home at night, I am so tired I chase the kids out of the house and tell them to leave me alone." Another mother, when asked if her child went to school every day, replied: "How do I know, when I have so many babies to look after."

The lack of time is probably not the most important factor. The adjustment of the immigrant mother to her children is rendered all the more difficult by her lack of English and by her ignorance of American customs. There is a world of difference between the ideas and "mores" of the peasant village with which she is familiar, and the American folkways which capture the attention of the little girl. The mother, when once she understands the situation, is far more sympathetic than the father to the desires and ambitions of her daughter. Often a mother will enter into a coalition with the daughter against a narrow and stubborn father. To a request that her daughter be allowed to come to the club, a mother after expatiating for an hour on the attitude of the father, concluded, "He won't let her out of his sight, but I guess mebbe she kin go." The mother later followed the daughter into a settlement class. On other occasions the little girl makes common cause with her mother. She often stands up for her against the criticism of older brothers and sisters, or not infrequently in her behalf braves the rage of the drunken husband.

The opaque character of this superficial intimacy raises a barrier to communication by mother to daughter of sex knowledge and the facts necessary to preparation for adolescence. In all the neighborhoods covered in the study the mother in only rare instances acts as a teacher of sex knowledge. For this task the mother herself would require a change of attitude and special education for a tactful and inoffensive approach. This the immigrant mother feels keenly. Women in mothers' clubs tell the settlement workers that they keep such matters a great secret and that they can't talk to their daughters about such things. The excuse of the individual mother is, "I shamed." Most of the mothers use the word "shame"

when the subject is discussed. In one case where, through necessity, a little girl was present when the baby was delivered, the mother had no thought of telling her anything concerning reproduction.

In many homes the failure of the mothers to give sex instruction does not mean that the little girl is ignorant of sex. The child "picks up" the knowledge of sex life from other children or from lack of privacy in the home. In the overcrowded homes of the poorer persons, conditions of sleeping make for precocious knowledge of relations, if not for immorality. Children in the settlement often speak in a grown-up way of their mother's condition during pregnancy. Jewish little girls, for example, often express the wish that the expected arrival shall be a boy. In homes with more privacy and separate bedrooms for the children, the mothers dread to talk to the little girl and apparently expect her to get sex knowledge from her companions. Other mothers refuse to speak to the daughter on this subject, maintaining that their little girls are entirely ignorant and innocent. Information surreptitiously obtained from companions may be even more demoralizing than the crude, but natural enlightenment of the family sleeping room. The dangers of ignorance, of clandestine information, or of partial knowledge are obvious. A mother told a settlement worker of a serious fright to her daughter due to misunderstanding of sex relations.

The mother neither teaches sex knowledge nor prepares her little daughter for adolescence. Many a girl comes to her first menstruation with absolutely no idea of how to take care of herself. One settlement worker states, "I have heard of many cases of girls of thirteen and fourteen coming from school, shocked by their own discovery of the knowledge of coming womanhood." Another writes: "The only preparation I have ever known one of these women to give the daughter for adolescence is to tell her that 'now her monthlies are likely to come' and that she must 'keep away from the boys.'" Among the Italians, as well as certain other immigrant groups, the adolescent is perfectly aware of the phenomenon, interpreted in an ugly way and colored luridly by her imagination. In certain neighborhoods the mothers are beginning to appeal in increasing numbers to the district nurses to give this instruction to their daughters.

If anything is said on the subject of sex in the pre-adolescent stage, it is to frighten the girl with the idea of "keeping her out of bad company and trouble." In Italian homes no instruction is given, but the aim is to keep the girl cloistered and innocent. Even when a few mothers tell bare facts relating to adolescence, the children have usually learned it earlier in a more vulgar form from playmates.

The little girl in the home receives little more preparation for the duties of the housewife than for the problems of motherhood. What she learns she "picks up" or "absorbs." Where the family is large, or where the mother works away from home, she may be forced to assume the major part of the domestic duties. In any case she learns rather by imitation than by instruction. In fact, these "trial and error" and "copying" methods may not secure to the little girl even the poor technique in the domestic arts possessed by the immigrant mother.

In the first place, the overworked mother has little time to teach housekeeping to her little daughter. This does not mean that the little girl has none of the work of the house to do. Indeed, in all of our immi-

grant groups with the exception of the Jew, the small daughter of the family is more or less of a drudge. But her work is of the simple routine type such as cleaning the front steps and the sidewalks, washing dishes, scrubbing floors on Saturdays, running errands, besides minding the baby which is her inevitable and universal lot. So the little girl learns only the unskilled tasks which require little or no direction. Even in the performance of these elementary services the mothers lose patience when the children do not do the work well, but make no attempt to give instruction. The mother quite naturally prefers to do the goodly part of the housekeeping herself, rather than be troubled by teaching it.

A second consideration unconsciously, no doubt, influences the attitude of the mother. The tasks assigned to the daughter are not only simple, but in addition, mechanical and uninteresting. Thus, in the division of labor in the home economy, the mother naturally reserves to herself the more attractive arts of cooking, ironing and sewing, while the little girl washes dishes, sweeps the floor, and runs errands. The place where the line is drawn is distinctly recognized. The small daughter of eight or nine often helps to prepare vegetables for soup, but is not expected to make noodles or to bake bread. The result of this attitude is indicated in the following illustration. In a Mexican neighborhood in a Texas community, a fourteen year old girl on the death of her mother, was unable to make bread for the boarders, although she had stayed home to help for several months.

The intimacy of the mother and daughter might be measurably increased if the interest of the girl in cooking, ironing, and sewing were given expression under the tutelage of the mother.

Slight as the intimacy between the small daughter and her mother, her relation to the father is still more distant and formal. One reason for this is his physical absence from home. His work, in general, keeps him from his family except for evenings and Sunday. Outside interests also may compete successfully with the home for his leisure time. From both these considerations, as well as from the general attitude of the father, the small child is in awe, if not in fear of him. For example, when the father is out, or when he is asleep, it is a signal to bring the neighbor children in to play, or to go out to play.

The attitude of the father toward the little girl varies decidedly with nationality. The Polish father apparently has little interest in his daughter or influence upon her. Often the intolerable habits of shiftlessness and drunkenness of the Polish husband make him a burden rather than a support to the family. Only "sometimes" is he a benevolent father; he is usually a much-to-be-feared tyrant of the home. The little girl goes her way, so far as possible, independent of him.

The control of the Italian father in the home is absolute, and his interest real, though crudely and unsympathetically expressed. As the baby of the family the little girl is a great pet with her father, but his attention is at once transferred to the next infant on its arrival. Until adolescence, the father practically ignores the little girl, except when he is irritated at her troublesome conduct. Consequently, she is very much afraid of him. As the girl reaches maturity, he carefully guards her, although his attitude appears to be then more that of "a watch-dog" than an affectionate parent. The father in the Jewish family seems to be on somewhat more friendly terms with his daughter than in the Polish and Italian homes. He usually

makes pets of the small children, although he pays considerably less attention to the little girl than to her brother. The average Irish father, if not a drunkard, takes a great interest in his daughter.

The affection of the little girl for the father is often very strong. The little girl may cry bitterly if her father does not come home on time. One, whose father goes to work at midnight, always goes to bed with him in the early evening and tells him all about the day's doings. After they have both fallen asleep, the mother moves the child to its own little bed.

Family recreation counteracts more or less the disintegration of affection between parents and children involved in family discipline. Among all nationalities the father, mother, and children on Sunday have an outing together in the park, or Saturday evening attend the "movies." The little girls of a Chicago settlement insisted that their fathers liked best to have them with him when they had on their Sunday clothes. Holidays, weddings, neighborhood events, are all family affairs and develop solidarity. At family parties, such as weddings and christenings, the father usually takes considerable notice of his little daughter, often dancing with her. Infrequently does the father take her out with him unaccompanied by the rest of the family. More often, however, especially in the Americanized neighborhood, the little girl goes to the "movies" and elsewhere alone or with companions of her own age.

One result of the little girl's craving for recreation is her demand for spending money. In homes in the most wretched districts there are no pennies for candy. In many families, however, despite poverty, the little girl because of her persistency is given from one to three cents every day to spend, and always on Saturdays a nickel to go to the "movies." The source of this money is usually the mother, since she almost invariably has control of family expenditures. According to the immigrant "mores" the good husband brings his pay envelope home unopened to his wife and she apportions out to him car-fare and spending money. So when the child is asked "where did you get your money?" the answer will generally be, "My mother gave it to me." The Italian mother usually carries the purse and doles out the money. Among other nationalities, the girl importunes the mother for money, but she may have to appeal to the father before she finally obtains her Saturday nickel. In an Italian and Polish neighborhood a poll of thirty-five girls reporting disclosed that the mother was the source of the spending money in nineteen and the father in sixteen instances. The big brother who works, or the boarder, may now and again gladden the little girl with the gift of a nickel or a dime.

The narrow, hard, unimaginative attitude of the immigrant toward life is manifested in his frank calculation of the industrial value of his children. One father said, "It is good to have many children, then I don't have to work." Among Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles and other Slavs, the girl as well as the boy is looked upon as an economic asset. A mother in speaking of their relative merits shrewdly observed, "When a girl earns \$9.00 a week a mother can count on \$8.75 of it, but with a boy she is lucky if she gets \$6.00."

Child-labor laws in the northern states have been enacted to protect the little girl under fourteen or sixteen years of age from the rapacity of

her parents, thereby postponing the time of their financial realization from her efforts. A girl often is thought of as an economic asset and as each year passes and she reaches the legal working age, she is considered more and more valuable to the family. Many Bohemian and Polish parents look forward to the time when she will be able to leave school for work, and on this account frequently lie about her age. On the other hand, the Italian parents expect their small daughter to marry soon after the pre-adolescent age, and therefore do not so much consider her economic value. In Irish and Jewish homes, her pecuniary significance to the family is not so much emphasized as with other nationalities.

Girls under fourteen do not seem to be considered an economic asset, but are encouraged to earn extra spending money by helping neighbors and running errands. In an Eastern settlement, two of the little Jewish girls earn from seventy-five cents to one dollar per week after school hours. In Cleveland the Slavic parents send the little girl out to earn money whenever an opportunity presents itself. At berry time in the spring, crowds of young girls have to leave home by 3:30 a. m. in order to meet the farmers' wagons at the end of the city line by 5 a. m.

The future economic value of the child is seldom out of consciousness. For example, the physically defective boy or girl suffers from neglect and ridicule, or is exploited according to his affliction. Even in death the economic loss involved is keenly realized and frankly expressed. When a child of twelve or thirteen dies one of the laments of the parents made with much bitterness is, "I fed her all these years and then she died on me." As her twelve year old daughter lay in the coffin one mother said, "To think I raised her to be so big. Soon she could go to work. Now she dies and all that trouble for nothing." We must, however, not conclude that this crude materialism signifies a lack of maternal affection. In the "mores" of the immigrant it is the manifest duty of the child to contribute its earnings to the family. Where this mental attitude is disintegrating under the influences of American life, it is the mother who tries to keep the little girl in school, and struggles against the father's insistent demand that she go to the factory and bring a pay envelope home, unopened, to the mother. If the parental interest in her occupational future were sympathetic and intelligent, family sacrifice and planning for the vocational training of the little girl would both strengthen family ties and stimulate the efforts of the little girl.

The attitude of the little girl to her older brothers and sisters is distinctly different from that to her parents. The relation is at once more intimate and more irresponsible. To the little girl the parents stand for Europe; the big brother and sister for America. The authority of the parents over her is mechanical and one of physical coercion; the control of the older brother and sister over her conduct, while sometimes even more brutal, is spontaneous and psychic. This mental accommodation of the little girl to the situation must be analyzed in some detail if we are to understand the anomalies in her social relations with the older children in the family.

It is with this standpoint in mind that we are enabled to interpret the following typical statements from the different settlement workers. "She is usually imposed upon by both older brothers and sisters, but she

submits willingly." "The older ones frequently take advantage of her and expect her to wait on them; on the other hand, they treat her generously and minister to her comfort and happiness." "Few little girls have anything in common with their older brothers and sisters, usually because the older ones do not want anyone 'tagging along.'" "Older brothers and sisters are held in great esteem, approaching hero-worship, by the little Jewish girl." "The child at this age looks forward to the time when she will have the coveted pay envelope that seems to make her older brothers and sisters independent and important. She is generally snubbed by them." "Older brothers and sisters as a rule pay no attention to the little girl unless they want her to do their work, or to fetch and carry for them. We know only a few families where brothers and sisters of different ages are quite congenial and show real affection." "Older brothers and sisters, if they are married, often seem very far away and almost strangers to the small girls. I find, however, she is usually very proud of their possessions whether a baby or a garden or whatever else may be the subject of discussion."

The influence of the big brother upon the little girl is real, even where there may be more reverence than affection in her attitude to him. Often the youth of the family is quarrelsome and abusive and the little girl may be actually afraid of him. Yet she is likely to take great pride in his achievements, and to regard him as a "hero." "One twelve year old girl," a settlement worker states, "looked dreadfully hurt when I had to answer 'no' to her assertion, 'You know my big brother, Mike.' Once I was quite humiliated because I had never seen Rosie's big brother who was 'on the stage and could sing songs and act like everything.'"

Occasionally the relation of the big brother to the little girl is described as "intimate" or "very intimate." The report from one settlement stated that his interest in the little sister was manifest both in regard to discipline and spending money. Although the little girl is bullied by her older brothers she yet is protected by them in a sincere, if crude fashion. Very frequently an older brother who is working has more authority over the little girl than her father who understands no English. It is often the older brother, who will not let his little sister go to camp, or to a party. One Irish mother reports that a little sister was severely whipped by an older brother because she refused to come away from a "bad street" when he called her.

The relations of psychic attraction and repulsion between the younger and the older sister are more subtle and complex than those between the little girl and her big brother. Where the big sister is sympathetic the little girl is fortunate. It is to big sister with her understanding of American ways, that the little girl instinctively turns for guidance. The older girl has learned by experience of the moral dangers of the neighborhood, and is usually anxious to protect her little sister from them. She it is who warns the younger sister against a boarder in the house, and who may ask advice about imparting to the little girl sex knowledge which the mother did not give to her at the same age.

At any rate, the little girl idealizes her big sister and tells of her desire to be like her when she grows up. "Often at a club meeting," writes a settlement worker, "the little girls tell me that their big sisters have had a ring, or a tie, or even a waist, 'all lace,' just like mine." Another settlement worker with Italian and Jewish girls, states: "The older sisters are her

model in all things." In a Boston settlement, a little eleven year old girl declared that her older sister in a dramatic club would have the leading part because she was so beautiful. A little girl at another settlement declared she could not wait until she was working so she could have a hat just like her older sister's. The lively interest in dress of two little eleven year old Irish girls in Boston was particularly due to imitation of their older sisters who are extremely stylish.

Often, however, these older sisters assume no responsibility for their younger sisters. They make them presents, but that is practically all they do. Isolated instances are found where the older girl takes this position: "I went to work at fourteen, why shouldn't my sister?" The usual situation is that the older sister tries to prevent the younger sisters from going to work at this early age.

The relation of the little Italian girl to her older sister is more responsible and formal than with other nationalities. She waits on the older sister and frequently works for her after she marries. She often acts as a chaperone for her older sister, who is not allowed to go out in the evening unless she brings the little sister.

The place of the little girl in the human web of family relationships and responsibilities is often extremely trying to her sensitive and loyal but unformed nature. If she is unusually fortunate in being the baby of the family, she receives a deal of petting and attention from the older persons. But if, as usually, a "middle between" she is a more or less willing slave. The period comes when the little girl feels favoritism, "My brother, he gets everything," or, "I don't never have no time to sew; I gotta take care of the kids." This attitude is accentuated where the little girl is a step-child, but otherwise it is loyally suppressed within the family circle. A significant attitude taken in this connection is that reported of the little Lithuanian girl in Chicago. "She shows a very marked favoritism for the child next to the baby. She seems to think that the baby has displaced this child from its rightful heritage of the first place in its mother's affection." "Outside the home the Italian girl may be extremely jealous," states a settlement worker, "and resents greatly any evidence of partiality in a class leader or teacher, but I have not found this manifested in her home relationships." In general, her attitude is that of the little Syrian girl, "who feels favoritism only when it is shown in a marked degree towards sisters, but it is always shown for the brothers."

The partiality for the boy is in the immigrant "mores" and manifests itself in many ways. The following incident reported from a Chicago settlement is a moving illustration of this attitude: "A mother of eight children gave birth last winter to twins, a boy and a girl. She was in poor health before their birth and could not feed them both, so she nursed the boy frequently and the girl as little as possible. The child became weaker and weaker. When this neglect was at last discovered it was too late to save the baby's life."

In Jewish families, the preference for the boy over the girl is marked. In many homes the girl is deprived of real necessities and undernourished in order to provide for the son's education. He may be receiving everything to make him a lawyer or a doctor, while his sisters wear shoes and dresses, sizes too large, given them by a charity organization, or Lady Bountiful.

Closely related to favoritism in the family is the "adopted child" notion. In the families of native-born Americans, the children often become obsessed with this idea that they have been adopted. Inquiry upon this point among the children of the settlement neighborhoods, revealed a curious situation. The "adopted child" notion is present among the children in Irish neighborhoods and in districts of mixed nationalities where the processes of assimilation to American life have been accelerated. The notion may be a fleeting fancy or it may become a fixed idea. One of two little Irish sisters in a playground last summer was allowed to go on a picnic, while the other was refused permission by the mother. The second little girl in explanation said, "Well, you know, I am only an adopted child, anyway." The "adopted child" idea is practically absent in Polish, Bohemian, Lithuanian, Syrian, Hungarian, and Jewish communities. Only one of fifty children questioned in a Pittsburgh settlement has been seized with the "adopted child" notion. She is a very imaginative Lithuanian child who was taken with this idea when she was about ten. In practically all other settlements reaching these nationalities the idea was unknown. There are at least three reasons for this. First: "Real brothers and sisters are so numerous as to make the idea of adopting unnecessary ones a preposterous one." Secondly: "There are in consequence so few adopted children in these neighborhoods that often the children questioned did not seem to know what the term meant." Finally, the children do not seem to have read books in which the adopted child is a character.

Usually the little girl is very kind to smaller brothers and sisters, and gives them good times. She takes pride in exhibiting their cunning behavior. The girl of twelve to fourteen takes care of the younger children, but in the most perfunctory way, simply by keeping them out of mischief. She is glad to avoid the duty if she can.

The question of determining the responsibility for the care of the younger children at times results in a situation amusing to the outsider, but serious to the little girls. Two older sisters, ten and nine years of age, vie with each other in attempts to be the first to hide in the alley or run to Hull House to avoid being the one left to care for the rest of the family, ages eight, seven, five, four, two and one-half, and maybe one year. Where the respective jurisdiction of two "little mothers" have been definitely fixed, each will as consistently avoid any assumption of the other's duties. There were two sisters of eleven and twelve on a Boston playground last summer; one looked after a brother of three, the other a sister of four. Neither would go to the assistance of the other's child.

The place of the settlement nursery in relieving the little girl from the burden of child care is effectively stated in a story from Christopher House, Chicago: "Just as we were starting on one of our picnics, Mary Podock came up carrying Eleanor, aged two and a half. I said, 'Oh, Mary, can't you come along?' Her reply was startling: 'God, no, and carry this!' I suggested putting Eleanor in the nursery, which was done and Mary came along. When Mary started home she said it was the first time she had not had Eleanor to take care of since she was five weeks old." The girl sometimes shows a fine spirit in accepting her responsibilities. Rose, a little Slavic girl, a splendid athlete and popular with the girls, at Hiram House, Cleveland, could not go anywhere or do anything without "carrying"

a baby. Although the baby was "cross" and refused to be put down, Rose was always chosen to play basketball, which she did, carrying the baby on one hip.

With the exception of the Jewish girl the reports are practically unanimous that the care of the younger child by its little but older sister becomes humdrum and mechanical. "Amusing the children" actually means dragging them through the streets, shaking them up and down when they cry, sometimes rolling a marble or ball to them, but seldom or never teaching them games or any of her own plays. All that a group of girls in a Chicago settlement seemed to do to amuse them was to let them look out of a window or give them bread when they cried. Only a few of them invented any kind of amusement.

The spirit of play pervades to some extent the care of the children given by the little girl. She plays all sorts of games using the younger children for her toys. She does not seem to be carried away by wild flights of fancy, but she copies in her play the life she sees around her in home, street, and school. In the larger families, as she grows older, the care of the younger children becomes mechanical, but in cases where there are two or three children, the baby is regarded as a live doll, and a great deal of pleasure taken in caring for it.

The Jewish girl, partly, perhaps, because of lighter house work, and partly because of a more imaginative turn of mind, seems to take more interest in the care of her small charges. In amusing the children, the Jewish "little mother" is often quite original, inventing new plays, playing house and school, or storekeeping, making curious faces and peculiar noises, and teaching the baby the little dancing steps she has learned.

The attitude of the little girls toward the care of babies apparently varies more widely by individuals than by nationalities. Some little girls who have taken care of several brothers and sisters feel lonesome when they no longer need their care, and usually find neighbors' children whom they can tote about. To other little girls there is no joy in caring for babies or in taking care of a house when it keeps them away from clubs and picnics. In some of the Italian families where there are always two or three babies, the "little mother" shows the effect in a stolid acceptance of the burden, though her affection for the babies is always evident. The occasion may arise when sullen indifference flares into rebellion. A new baby arrived in a family already large. The oldest, a girl, was very resentful because "now she wouldn't have any vacation." So the older child becomes still older, seeing only drudgery, and assuming it as a matter of course, having no imagination to ease the burden of her existence as a "little mother."

Settlement workers are divided in their opinion in regard to the effect of the care of children upon the personal development of the little girl. A rather small minority emphasize its valuable results. "Her maternal instinct is developed; her executive ability and her imagination and ingenuity. This is in the families where the child is not overburdened with care." "In assuming the care and discipline of the smaller children, the little girl becomes more womanly." "It also develops many good traits in the child—making her more thoughtful, responsible, and helpful."

The majority of settlement workers have come to the conclusion that the injurious effects of child care far outweigh any incidental values.

"She assumes this responsibility which robs her of a normal childhood, stunts her physical development and makes her old beyond her years, as a matter of course." "Being a 'little mother' often makes an old woman out of the little girl." "She often becomes shrewish and loses her own play spirit. It pushes her into a grave and responsible position before she is ready for it, and takes away all her childhood." "Of course, the girl is developed in some ways by this responsibility, but it cannot be desirable when her childhood is practically snatched away from her by it. Her health may be seriously affected. Her school work is likely to be interfered with." It is from intimate knowledge of instances such as the following that the majority of settlement workers speak. Annie, a little ten year old, the eldest of the six children of a sick father and a frail, overworked mother, was sent to the country last summer. She did not have the slightest idea of how to amuse herself. While the other children were playing hide-and-go-seek in the woods, she would remain inside with no desire but to work all day in the house.

Work in the home is a matter of course, especially in the Polish and Italian homes, and becomes very irksome at times to the little girl. She always speaks of "scrubbing *my* kitchen," or "*my* house," or "*my* baby." "My work" takes precedence over everything else, and nothing else can be entered into until it has been finished, or punishment follows. Sometimes on Saturdays, it is three or four o'clock in the afternoon before the hard scrubbing is done. Her responsibility is increased in her mother's absence, either at work or "buying things to eat," she must see that the baby does not roll off the table, that Jennie washes her hands, that Tony does this and Carmel does that.

In the mother's absence from home the entire responsibility often devolves upon the little girl. When a Cleveland mother spent two weeks at the hospital last summer her little nine year old daughter, Sophia, did all the work except the washing for her father and the three younger members of the family. A visit on Friday afternoon found Sophia scrubbing the floor with the dinner cooking in anticipation of the father's homecoming. In any immigrant home the sickness of the mother or her work away from home results in the assuming by the little girl of the charge of the house. Occasionally the little girl is the only nurse her mother and new baby sister or brother may have after the baby's arrival. She prepares the meals and cares for the younger children and the father.

The little girl is not, of course, an efficient housekeeper. Annie Gari lives two doors away from the Settlement. Her mother works and Annie has to get dinner every evening. She has to run home every fifteen minutes to see how her meal is cooking. One day she was asked what she had for her meals and she said: "Soups mostly; they cook by themselves." The Lithuanian, Jewish, and Irish girls seem to have less of the burden of housework than their little Polish and Italian sisters. It is reported that "the little Lithuanian girl assumes no responsibility in her home and seems to be in it as little as possible." The Jewish and Irish little girls take care of younger children, but have few other duties in the home.

The attitude toward accepting responsibility in the home is that it is a matter of course. It is at times irksome to her, and it is often a pleasure. The attitude toward work in the home varies with nationality, according

to a statement from Hull House. The little Slavic girls assume this responsibility as a matter of course, and derive pleasure from it. They seem to like to clean house and in general help with the work. The Italian certainly does not enjoy it, yet she does it with good grace because she knows she must. The Jewish girl likes housework least of all. Again and again in the Model Cottage or at Camp they object to scrubbing the floor, saying, "I never do this at home—I shan't do it here." Some Jewish girls, however, help most willingly at home.

This sketch of the little girl, fragmentary and imperfect as it is, cannot but powerfully appeal to our sympathies. We see her with a mother motherless, the "little mother" of the family, accepting, with only now and then a stifled protest, the monotonous round of the routine duties of the household, entering into the conscious thought of her parents only as a willing drudge, as a persistent demand for the nickel for the "movies," and as a future economic asset; idealizing the big brother who, according to his mood, now ignores, now bullies, but occasionally is patronizingly or surreptitiously generous to her; imitating the big sister who symbolizes her longings and ambitions, but who seldom gives her the sympathetic and intelligent attention to which her undeveloped and aspiring nature would gratefully respond—in short, a little girl without a childhood, womanlike in her assumption of the responsibilities of life, childlike in her eagerness for self-expression in her impulses of love and play. In our study of the personality of the little girl of the settlement we see human nature developing in the matrix of the human relations of the family under untoward influences, the blights of poverty, ignorance, and stupid kindness, the droughts of lack of sympathy and understanding; perceiving all this, we marvel and rejoice that the product has so little that is bad and so much that is good.

The Educational Possibilities of the Daily Vacation Bible School

FRANK G. WARD*

Some seventeen years ago Simon N. Patten, at that time professor of political economy in the University of Pennsylvania, wrote these words: "While the economic virtues are the product of work, the whole character is formed in leisure." To be sure, as Dr. Patten implies, this quotation applies primarily to the current economic order in America. It has not always been true; the time may come when it will cease to be true; there are exceptions to it today; but by and large, its validity for the present day horizon is unquestioned.

This statement has been a range light for a decade and a half in my thinking on educational matters. Let the word, leisure, give way to the words, free time, and you have the text for this discussion of the educational possibilities of the Church Vacation School. Listen to the quotation again, with the suggested change in the wording: "While the economic virtues are the product of work, the whole character is formed in one's free time." The man in the factory learns to be punctual as he punches the time clock; he learns to pay his debts lest his wages be garnisheed; he learns to tell the truth, that he may hold his job. But you see the *real* man as he gets away from his work and lives for better or for worse in his home and among his comrades; his character in its wholeness is formed in his free time. Read the introduction to Pippa Passes to get the flavor of this fact—the musings of the girl who works the year round in the close, sticky air of the silk mill, all but one day:

"A pretty thing to care about

So mightily, this single holiday."

Now, this "whole character" and its formation is coming to be looked upon as the chief concern of education, whether we call it religious education or just education without any adjective attached.

But what is meant by this expression, "the whole character"? It needs a little reflection to get its true meaning. Is it not what Jesus meant in what some one has called the "unattainable goal"—"Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." In its immediate context such wholeness of character calls upon one to live on good terms with those of his own family and also with his neighbor; to put away race hatred and to put in its place world friendship—"love your enemies"—who in this instance are the foreigners; to develop such control of oneself and of one's attitudes toward men and women alike that one lives free from sin in the heart. In short, the measure of one's wholeness of character is one's ability to live the shared life, to get along with folks; nay more, to live with such a fine give and take that families "master the secret of gentle intercourse"; that communities "restore that tranquility of mind which can organize deliberation, happiness, and activity into a common social program"; that the hearts of people everywhere turn toward God with one heart and one mind. One's capacity for social living is the primary measure of one's wholeness of character.

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I have said that such wholeness of character is coming to be the chief concern of education. But it is a slow process. It may be a long time before this goal stands out clearly in the light of the morning sun. Whatever may be the theory of modern education in respect to the fine art of living, the fact is that the moral order as displayed by the growing generations has been for some years a cause for anxiety on the part of teachers and religious leaders and jurists, alike. In the meantime vocational training and professional skill have forged ahead by leaps and bounds. In our high schools and universities we are learning how to work. Are we acquiring wholeness of character?

And what is more to the point, our church schools and our mission stations have not seen as clearly as they might that wholeness of character is the goal of religious education. The tradition of *Sunday School* as an affair of the Sabbath has dimmed the picture of social living on the other six days of the week, as a religious observance; the hold of the Bible as the main concern of moral and religious education has fixed the attention of the rank and file of Christian people upon the learning process as the primary resource for the development of wholeness of character; denominational lines have tended to narrow rather than broaden one's outlook. As a matter of fact, much still remains to be done before the general run of religious education is geared up to the wholeness of character as its definite goal.

Now right here is where I see the educational possibilities of the Church Vacation School. It is as free as the air out on Lake Michigan of the limitations just referred to. It meets during the week; anything that is proper on any day of the week is proper for the Vacation School. Again, while the Bible plays its part in the material for the Vacation School, it does not stand in the way of any other material that the wise teacher may want to introduce; she may forage where she will to get the things for the children to use which make for wholeness of character. Miss Johnson, my neighbor on the south, is a progressive teacher in the primary grades of the Chicago city schools. She carries her principles with increasing freedom over into the Vacation School; but she says that this takes her whole day, for in the afternoon she has to go down town to get the material she will need the next forenoon. She fits material to the immediate needs of the pupils, not knowing (how can she?) what a day may bring forth.

Furthermore, while the school may be conducted by this, that, or the other denominational church, the school is nevertheless looked upon as a community affair; Catholics and Hebrews may be found in the line-up, who would not think for a moment of going to the standard Sunday school. Nor does the Vacation School have to make any trains; it ought not to be running on a schedule; the children may be given time to learn what it is really to live constructively with their mates on terms of happiness and good will, without anyone to make them afraid lest they may not pass.

Of course, all this calls for unusual teachers—teachers who have caught the vision of children who are rejoicing in the privilege of living the abundant life, and who have enough educational sense to see that the game does not get out of their control. I once asked Mr. George of the George Junior Republic what would happen in his Freeville Community if the situation got away from him. It did, pretty nearly, at one time and it threatened to

discredit one of the finest educational experiments of the century. Teachers may not be martinets in this new type of school; still they must know when to say Whoa! But wherever a school can find the right teachers who have the freedom of the spirit and the strength of character requisite for the defining and the realizing of the wholeness of character in the lives of the boys and girls in a Vacation School, the educational possibilities are fascinating.

It is needless to say that if one is to realize these possibilities teachers and pupils must be free to carry on without regard for standards imposed from outside. New York cannot direct Chicago in the conduct of its vacation schools, nor can Evanston say to Back of the Stockyards what shall be done there. Right here is where our danger lies—the danger that we shall lapse into a mediocre institution, following feebly in the foot steps of an established educational order, when we might strike out in new paths for the discovery of an educational method where we seek the welfare of the child and the development of his wholeness of character as it is conditioned by the community in which he lives and by the primary groups which make it up. Is there any other religious educational institution as free as is the Vacation Church School to take advantage of this new note in education?

II.

Dr. Patten has told us that the whole character is formed in the free time. The free time opportunity of the Vacation School is the second point that comes up under the educational possibilities of the institution under consideration.

Let us think for a minute about the general issue involved under the vacation idea.

Time was when the long vacations in the calendar year were needed that the work of the children might be used on the farm. Schooling and farm work were seasonal occupations that spelled each other in the life of the rural boys and girls.

With the growth of the cities and the industrial changes that gave rise to them the total vacation time in a year has been shortened. But the long vacation still persists; the summer is still vacation time for the rank and file of the boys and girls.

Now, there have been times when some of us have looked upon the long vacation as a not unmixed blessing. The boy, like the colt that runs free all summer, often has to be broken over again when school begins in the fall. Were it not better to shorten up the long vacation, inasmuch as the old chance to work out during the summer has gone?

But we come back to our thesis: "the whole character is formed in the free time." Religious education beyond any other phase of education is concerned with the whole character. The free time of the summer vacation is the opportunity of the church. Here is its great field. It is the opportunity, not so much to teach what is narrowly known as religion, as it is the chance for a religious institution to help individuals and families and communities to learn in a free and open setting what it is to live together on the highest spiritual levels—quite a different thing.

The vacation "Feel" is, I think, essentially an American affair; at least I have not found it in Europe. Perhaps I have it to a marked degree, for over forty years of my life have been lived, either as a student, a minister,

or a teacher, in communities where the clocks were set by the school bell. What a sense of freedom and expansion always came with the vacation time. It may not have meant less work; it usually did not. But it did mean the exhilaration that came from the common sense of the community that a certain section of the social order was free to discover, to reach out, to be themselves. Some day the church is going to realize that this eager, active, inquiring free-time spirit is the soil made ready for its seed, which shall yield some thirty fold, some sixty fold, and some an hundred fold.

Now, it is in this direction that the Vacation School is finding its educational possibilities. It is one of the first endeavors to take possession of these mighty energies of the soul life and give such direction as shall result in a forward march, minus any sense of repression. The little girl who told me that she liked Vacation School more than she liked the public school "because it was not so strict" was not asking for less of vital and necessary control, but she was asking for the privilege of being more of herself than can usually be granted in our regular school system.

I have just said that the Vacation School is one of the few institutions—I dislike that word here but I use it—one of the first methods for taking advantage of this vacation "Feel" and turning it to good account. Other methods are coming apace. Summer camps, "week-ends," hikes, the Ford habit—all of them belong to the same general psychology of the vacation, free-time, leisure order. (One must not confuse this with Week Day Religious Instruction—a phase of education which is linked up with the formal "school year" and which therefore lacks the genius of the vacation school.) The problem as I see it is not so much to learn how to use our leisure time as it is for society so to organize its time schedule that every community, every family, and every individual shall have such leisure time that wholeness of character may be a definite quest of life, and also an offset to the highly specialized type of life which attaches to the current social and industrial routine from Labor Day to about the Fourth of July. And this is the opportunity of the church. The minister who gets a vision of what is involved in this chance will be ready to exchange opportunities of the Christmas and I was almost ready to say the Easter-tide, if necessary, to make the best use of this new motif.

But to come back to the Vacation School. It is a leader in this discovery of the significance and use of free time. How far afield this new note may pipe us in years to come we may not guess; but in the meantime the Vacation School has the task of setting the pace. We dare not let it lapse into slipshod ways and into cunning little amusements. We must be alert to discover the underlying philosophy of it all and to develop true to such form. It means that each school is a study by itself; that each teacher must take counsel of herself first of all; that she is to be a companion of the group rather than a disciplinarian and an information bureau; that the use of any material, whether it be the Bible or the Flag, is subordinate to the main purpose of helping the pupils discover for themselves the abundant life, as they learn how to live together the shared life in their instinctive quest for the wholeness of character. For "that which we discover for ourselves—it is that to which we are loyal."

Blunders there will be and some times sharp encounters; the rooms may often be noisy and cluttered up, for they are workshops and playgrounds rather than studies and recitation rooms. Organization will not be from

over-head, but it will be the organized life of the group members growing out of their own common needs; direction there will be, but it will be the minimum amount, applied where it will count the most, and not act as a repressive; and withal there will be the atmosphere of goodwill that goes with the underlying religious sense, and the spirit of reverence which any true education attaches to all of life and to the whole of God's creation.

Graded Services of Worship In A City Church

C. MELVILLE WRIGHT, B. A.*

Workers in the Department of Religious Education of Bloor Street Presbyterian Church, Toronto, have developed during the past four years a body of experience that will doubtless be of interest and perhaps of some value to others who are grappling with that most difficult problem of training boys and girls in worship. Three—or practically four—services are held each Sunday morning at the hour of worship and the slogan with which the movement was introduced suggests the plan—*"The whole family at church and each member in a service adapted to his or her needs."*

The situation of this church is interesting. Located in the heart of a well-to-do residential district, in close proximity to the Provincial University, one of the largest in the British Empire, it has drawn for thirty-five years steadily increasing congregations and holds a place unique in the life of the city and of its denomination. On its membership roll are over 1,700 members, though the seating capacity of the church auditorium is only 1,200. Active in its work are persons prominent in business and professional life of the city and of the nation. The type of service required to meet the needs of those who attend must be of high order intellectually and spiritually. During the college year from late September until after Easter the church is usually crowded at both morning and evening services, and not infrequently many are turned away.

When it was decided four years ago to establish a Department of Religious Education and to strengthen the work among the young people of the congregation and community, one of the first problems revealing itself to the Director of Religious Education appointed was in connection with the attendance of children at church. In this large congregation on Sunday morning for a period of three months the average number of children in attendance did not exceed thirty. Notwithstanding the interest of the minister and the place given to the Children's Sermon and the simpler hymn for them the children did not attend, and moreover there simply was not room for all the children of the families, and the service as a whole could not be made wholly suitable for the young. Many, even of those who did come to this service, were found to be restless and sometimes a source of disturbance because what was going on was out of their range.

After investigating many plans a committee recommended to the Session and to the congregation the establishment, on Forward Movement Sunday, of separate services for the children. It was tacitly understood that, if the experiment did not prove successful, the plan would be discontinued at the end of that season. So far from resulting in failure it has proved to be one of the greatest sources of strength to the young people's work and indeed to the congregation as a whole. As it has worked out it has come

*Director of Religious Education, Bloor Street Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Canada.

to occupy a distinctive place in the lives of many boys and girls, and has influenced the attitude of many homes toward the church's worship.

These services do not in any way supplant the regular Sunday school which meets in the afternoon; rather it is recognized that more training in worship is needed for all boys and girls than can be given in the opening periods of worship in the school, which cannot be extended beyond twenty minutes. Perhaps the figures which may be given here supply conclusive evidence of the contribution that has been made towards the whole work. Whereas, as has been said, not more than thirty children could be found attending worship before this plan was adopted, the average attendance at the graded services of worship during the past year was five or six times that number, and frequently more than two hundred boys and girls were in attendance. In the Sunday school covering the same period the total enrollment four years ago was under five hundred, and the average attendance about three hundred, whereas during the past season the enrollment has risen to over eight hundred, and the average attendance exceeds five hundred and fifty. Further it should be noted that no special effort has been made to induce larger attendance. No competitive schemes have been resorted to. Not even an aggressive follow-up has been done. Those who have come to the services have come without pressure of any kind, and the growth has been natural and normal. Again, no special equipment has been provided. Just the ordinary rooms in the church—vestry, lecture room, and school room—have been used for these services. The only investment in new equipment of any kind has been made by the boys and girls themselves, providing recently a reading desk and pulpit chair for the Junior Congregation services.

Little children under three or four years of age gather in the *nursery*. Teen age girls under a leader look after them. What is done can hardly be dignified as an order of service, but some excellent work is done through simple pictures and little stories. The value of the Nursery is mainly to be found in the convenience it provides for mothers who would not otherwise be able to attend the other services, and in the establishment of the habit of bringing the children to the church from their very earliest years.

The *kindergarten* is under a group of trained workers and a fairly definite program is followed with children three to seven years of age. Simple hymns and prayers are learned. Appropriate Scripture passages are committed to memory. Stories and familiar conversations have their place. There is also a play-time and a work period.

The *junior congregation* is under the charge of the Director of Religious Education, and is for boys and girls from seven to fourteen years of age. The order of service occupies a prominent place in the Church Calendar each week, and parallels very closely the regular adult service. The worship period is unbroken for one hour. Opportunity is taken to explain the purpose of the various parts of the service. Lantern slides are used for hymns and scripture selections and sometimes for prayers. The "Story Sermon" occupies ten to twelve minutes and follows a definite series of expository and practical messages. The offering and ushering and all such details are looked after by a committee of boys. Very special attention is given to the musical part of the service, and repeatedly improvements are being introduced in order that the great values of music may be obtained.

Usually there is a space of fifteen or twenty minutes after the main

period of worship is over before the adult congregation is adjourned. Since it is desirable that all members of the family should be free at the same time to go home together, the Junior Congregation order of service recognizes this, and the second part is quite different from the first. It is definitely educational and varies from time to time. Occasionally a capable storyteller is secured to occupy these fifteen or twenty minutes. Sometimes a travelogue is given with lantern slides, through Mission Fields or other interesting countries of the world. A large place has been made for nature study, and experts on birds and animals, trees and flowers have come to use the opportunity here. From time to time the boys and girls are informed about world movements and current events which they should know about have been described by picture or otherwise. Various social service and charitable enterprises appealing to children have from time to time been described, though never with the financial appeal attached. The aim of the leader in this service is to provide such varied and supplementary material that it shall broaden the interests of the boys and girls and at the same time contribute to the correlation of the church's message with the affairs of daily life.

Very careful record of attendance is kept by a group of older boys who make this one of their service activities. Diplomas are given annually in connection with Rally Day for regular attendance. Provision is made for graduation from Kindergarten to Junior Congregation and from the latter to the adult service. Most gratifying has it been to note the number of boys and girls thirteen or fourteen years of age entering the regular membership of the church on profession of faith direct from the Junior Congregation since the inauguration of this plan.

What are the results of this project observed up to the present time? Reference has already been made to the numerical increase of children attending the worship and to the number attending the Church school, but the increase in attendance does not represent in any measure the whole or the main result.

First must be noted the change in the attitude of children toward the church and its worship-services. Children now come gladly and of their own accord. In September the leaders were told of children returning from their vacation before the re-opening of the children's services, crying at home on Sunday morning because "their church" had not started yet. Many mothers and fathers have reported that, whereas they were confronted in former days with innumerable excuses which their children had devised to get out of going to church, now they are accustomed to their children getting up early, ready in good time to go to church and persuading any delinquent parent, older brother or sister to come along. An outstanding example, which is not unusual, comes from a home where there is a ten-year old boy and a twelve-year old girl. The father, having procured a new motor car, proposed one Sunday morning an all-day picnic. These children loved picnics with their parents and the new motor car made its appeal. To the surprise of the father when his proposal was made the children said, "We would like to go, but we must go to our church first; and we cannot start on the picnic until afternoon."

There is secondly the intelligent interest with which children may be trained to participate in worship. The Sunday school cannot provide for this as the extra hour of morning worship does. It would seem that one

reason why many adults seem unable to follow without languor the worship periods in their church is because when they were young the essentials were not made clear to them, and they have never learned. Perhaps also the oft-repeated excuse of non-church-goers has some weight, when they tell us that the memories of long unpleasant hours spent in church under repression when they were young account for their reaction against church attendance now that they choose for themselves. The experience of this congregation has at least demonstrated that church worship may be made joyous and attractive to the young and pleasant associations may be formed.

Another assured result has been the restoration of not a few families to regular habits of church going. However, some may lament the fact that the "family pew" is no longer an institution duly recognized, the fact remains that for many, many families it has gone without successful efforts to retain it on the part of most church leaders. Perhaps in this experiment has been demonstrated the practicability of a better way. Certainly when on a Sunday morning one sees long lines of motor cars near the church in which the families as a whole come and go, and one notes that formerly the tendency of some of these families was very definitely towards slipping away, it would seem that this effort is along right lines, and that there are in it greater possibilities still.

Another value of this movement has been seen in the fact that it has provided definite opportunities for service along new lines for many to whom old methods did not appeal. They have seen new opportunities here and with a free hand they have begun to work them out. One step has led to another and all have contributed to realize some vital values of religious experience.

The plan has by no means attained finality, but each year there has been steady progress. If it leads in the future, as it has in the past to a deeper interest, more intelligent and more reverent attitude toward the Church and its worship, more hearty participation in the singing, prayers and meditation of the worship-hour it will perhaps serve a useful purpose in building up the Kingdom of God. The plan may not be practicable for churches in the smaller centers, but doubtless modified forms of it may be used. But in city churches where a staff of qualified workers can be secured, it is not only within the range of possibility but the experience of this church suggests a challenge to others to try it.

Opportunist Teacher Training

The Rev. C. Ivan Hellstrom, Director at the First Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N. J., sends an account of adapting teacher-training to local needs. The usual methods of teacher training classes did not prove satisfactory. The training class was made up of high-school young people. Most of them go on to college or normal school, and we felt that such a class promised few, if any, actual teachers and deprived them of a most important part of their training in the church school. Furthermore, the standard course was spread over too long a time and in the end did not furnish a preparation which we considered adequate for our teachers.

We recruit our teachers from three groups mainly: returning graduates from college and normal school; the exceptionally fine teachers of our public-school system; and qualified church-school teachers coming to us from other places. A large majority of our teachers and officers are college or normal school graduates.

We have worked out several short courses for training our teachers. These fall into three classes: those dealing with the aims of religious education designed for all who expect to teach; those concerned with modern methods, psychology and pedagogy, for college people who have had no training in education but know something of the modern point of view of the Bible and religion; and finally those courses on the use of the Bible for religious education, designed for public school teachers and others who know how to teach but have never had much training in Bible and religion as we think of these things. These courses are supplemented by written reports and conferences and by our teachers' meetings. At each of these there is a discussion led by the Director on some of the fundamentals of religious education in terms of our situation, our experience, our opportunities and problems. We look for an attendance of about ninety per cent of our staff at these meetings.

By these means we have secured a splendid corps of teachers and officers; and a steady improvement in our work has resulted. The teachers are growing. Their teaching is more alive. A common point of view and a clearer understanding of our aims have stimulated a spirit of co-operation and an invaluable consciousness that religious education is indeed a high calling.

News Notes

The ninth convention of the World's Sunday School Conference will be held June 18-26, 1924, at Glasgow, Scotland.

The National Non-Theatrical Motion Picture Company, 130 West 46th Street, New York City, now offers a series of text-films on geology, natural history, biology, civics, literature and nature study.

The Boys' Scouts Organization announces an attempt to project a definite reading program for boys in the magazine field.

Representatives of the 12 leading Protestant denominations have founded a new board to be known as the Institute for the Advancement of Christian Knowledge. Judge Henry Wade Rogers, LL. D., is its president. The permanent headquarters for the Institute will be established in New York City.

Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, issues the following: The Why, The How of Presbyterian Teacher Training; Children's Week Social Church Program; A Thousand Points of Study for the Church School; A Voice From Long Ago (Rally Day suggestions for Young Peoples and Intermediate Societies); The Teacher Training Department (the solving of the teacher problem); Presbyterian Young People's Service Program and Make the Program Work.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature, Chicago, advertises a course of study entitled "How to Enjoy the Bible." This course is prepared by Professor T. G. Soares of the University of Chicago.

Picture Service Corporation, 208 S. La Salle Street, Chicago, distributes for the Chicago Tribune a five-reel educational motion picture "From Trees to Tribune" which is offered free of charge to schools, churches, community centers, and the like.

The Commission on Evangelism, Room 518, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City, issues a leaflet "The Fall Church Program," by Arthur M. Ellis.

The Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, of 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City, has changed its name to The Institute of Social and Religious Research. The directors remain the same.

The State of Minnesota has revised the laws on their Statute Books so that they may now establish week-day schools of religion. This year they are starting schools in three districts of Minneapolis.

The Daily Vacation Bible Schools in St. Louis had an enrollment of over 6,000 last summer.

The student's volunteer movement will hold its ninth quadrennial convention at Indianapolis, December 28th to January 1st.

Dr. Thomas F. Holgate of Northwestern University has been elected President of the Chicago Church Federation.

Rev. Winifield L. Shark formerly Pastor at Coldwater, Michigan, has accepted the Chair of Psychology at Hillsdale.

The new Director of the First Church, Oakland, California, is Mr. E. A. Friedell.

Dr. William Chalmers Covert for ten years Pastor of the First Presby-

terian Church, Chicago, has accepted the position of General Secretary of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church.

Rev. H. H. Harmon, Pastor of the First Christian Church, for many years has accepted the Secretaryship of the Board of Education of the Disciples of Christ. He will be the endowment secretary.

Clara Bancroft Beatley, an outstanding figure in the Church of the Disciples, died on October 20th at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Cope's Survey of Twenty Years has been reprinted as an Association pamphlet. Those desiring copies may secure them on application. If anyone should care for as many as fifty copies we shall be glad to supply them for \$5.00.

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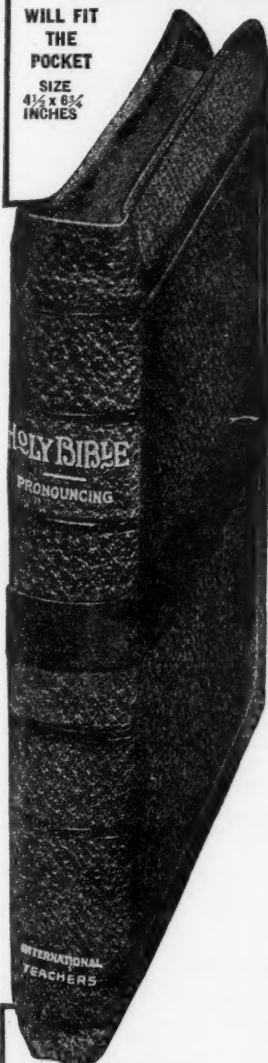
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and Jō'bāb: all these were the
sons of Jōk'tan.

30 And their dwelling was from
Mē'shā, as thou goest unto
Sē'phar a mount of the east.

31 These are the sons of Shēm,

R. C. 2347

1 Chr. I. 4.

Jch. 9. 19.

from these
them abro
the earth.
10 ¶ Th
of Shēm:
years old,
two years

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